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Subject: The Organization of the Construction industry in Poland,

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY IN POLAND

I. The state authorities and organizations supervising the construction industry and cooperating with it.

Introduction.

The construction industry in Poland is charged and equipped by the state for the realization of state investment plans. However, other state organizations cooperate in the plan, and the construction industry is not the only instrument. Therefore, before describing the organization of the construction industry, the other organizations which are also exclusively responsible for the realization of certain investment plans will be mentioned briefly. They are: the state investment service, and the state designing and consulting bureaus which are closely connected with the construction industry.

The investment service represents the functions of the investor who in most cases is also the owner and the user. Because the role of the investor in a construction project is manifold, a short description of his responsibilities is necessary to a full explanation of the organization of the construction industry. He is responsible for the acquisition of ground and design of the project, for buying and supply of machinery and equipment, for technical supervision, in some cases for supply of building materials, for direct cooperation in the final stage of realization, i.e., turning over the project for exploitation, and several other functions, all of which make him a very responsible partner in implementation of the construction project.



1. The owner of an investment construction project. Various forms of ownership.

Each construction project has a strictly defined legal and economic relationship to the national economy. The assignment of tasks connected with the realization of investments is rigidly and uniformly defined. The forms of this regulation are firm and rather simple, but for this reason inflexible and artificial in practice causes enormous difficulties.

The ownership of an investment construction project can legally beling to one of the following three categories: state, cooperative or private. Private ownership is applied exclusively to small, one family houses. Since 1957, the ownership of one apartment in a cooperative apartment building was included in this category, but with great restrictions. Restrictions consist of provisions that such an apartment cannot be sold without permission of the collective owner, i.e., the cooperative, and that it cannot be sublet. However, the heredity law concerning such an apartment is fully in force. This form of property is just beginning; there is no experience as to its real functioning, and because it is applied in so few cases it can be omnitted in this study.

The private ownership of newly built one family houses started to develop to some extent since 1957, however the government is supporting the construction of cooperative apartment houses more than individual small houses.

Cooperative ownership.

A cooperative can be an owner of a large apartment building (Blok mieszkaniowy) containing several apartments or of a group of small houses, the so-called colony of apartment houses (Kolonia domkow mieszkalnych). Exceptionally a cooperative can own also some other service buildings, such as clubs, recreation buildings, or laundries, but this is a rather rare situation. There are various types of housing cooperatives and all of them are included in socialized, but not in private, construction industry. In spite of that there are great differences in their by-laws.

- a/ Large housing cooperatives include the Warsaw Housing Cooperative (Warszawska Spoldzielnia Mieszkaniowa), Poznan Housing Cooperative, and cooperatives directly financed by the Central Union of Cooperatives, which had large funds from the contribution of 2 percent of the turnover of all cooperatives. These large housing cooperatives do not differ from a state investor and are the most privileged of all. A citizen living in such apartment building belonging to this kind of cooperatives is not an owner of his apartment.
- b/ Workers factory housing cooperatives (Robotnicze spoldzielnie mieszkaniowe przyzakladowe) are financed by the State and by the factory fund of the individual factory and are administered by the workers autonomy (samorzad robotniczy). A worker living in such a housing settlement can be owner of an apartment or house with limited ownership rights. Such

apartments cannot be sublet, they can be given up with the permission of the workers autonomy, but only to another worker, and in such case the original owner gets his payments back. Such a house is paid for by installments of 5000-6000 zlotys yearly for 20 to 30 years. The average yearly wage of a worker was about 18,000 zlotys in 1958, however a number of highly skilled workers earn about 36,000 zlotys yearly and this category can easily pay the above mentioned 6,000 zlotys as yearly installments.

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The above distinction between large, factory, and universal housing cooperatives has its practical meaning in this succession defines the degree of privileges bestowed by the state on these cooperatives in credits, allocation of land and materials, and in possibilities of hiring a contracting enterprise. So, e.g., the large housing cooperatives are entitled to hire a state construction enterprise which also supplies the building materials or to order the construction by the cooperative construction establishment which gives a guarantee of implementation because it also obtains building materials from the state allocation

from the state allocation plan, and produces some materials itself. The workers factory housing cooperatives can build in the so-called "self-management" economic system, and when doing this are helped by the individual factories. They can also hire a state construction enterprise if such enterprise agrees to take the project. This seldom happens, but sometimes when a state construction enterprise is building some industrial investment project for the factory, a factory director convinces the construction enterprise to build the housing project for the factory cooperative along with the industrial project.

The universal cooperatives are not entitled to hire a state construction enterprise, because this is regarded as using the state allocated means for private purposes and is forbidden by law. Therefore the universal cooperatives have to find a contractor and building materials by themselves, however they receive credit loans from the state.

The legal status of a housing cooperative.

In relation to the agreement which is made by the members of a cooperative, the division of cooperatives from the internal-legal point of view is as follows:

- a/ Housing-construction cooperatives
- b/ Housing-administration cooperative
- c/ Tenants cooperatives
- d/ Cooperative association for the construction of individual houses.





The housing-construction cooperative is organized for the construction of apartments (in apartment houses or individual small houses) for its members. After the construction is completed, it is decided whether to dissolve it entirely or to change it into a housing-administration or tenants cooperative.

The housing-administration cooperative does not engage in construction of housing but in their exploitation, maintenance and repairs, i.e., administration of existing houses. At present, not many such coops exist, and all large housing cooperatives belong to this category. Such a possibility arose for the first/time in 1957 that a groupsof citizens, mainly factory workers, is able to organize a cooperative and buy an apartment house from the state. In this way the state, for the first time since 1945 when the communist regime took over the country, is selling state owned property to a lower economic level, which according to communistic theory, a cooperative is. It is an analogy to the selling of entire agricultural machine park of the machine-tractor stations to kolhozes in the USSR.

The tenants cooperative is the most usual type. A group of persons organizes to solve their housing problems, beginning with building an apartment house through later exploitation and administration. They can adopt new members and continue to build further.

The cooperative association for the construction of individual houses embraces a group of people organized for the purpose of building individual small houses and later on for the administration of common utilities such as water, gas, electric power, sewer system, disposal of trash, etc., with the exception of the administration of the individual houses. It is a looser form, regarded as lower type of cooperative, and less supported by the state.

The number of the housing cooperatives in Poland.

The Polish daily <u>Trybuna Ludu</u> published on 16 April 1959 some						
data concerning the development and number of housing cooperatives on						
1 April 1959, in comparison with the status on 1 January 1958, as a						
preparatory communique for the congress of the housing cooperatives						
movement which took place on 26 April 1959 in Warsaw.						
table shown on the next page.						

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Table I The increase of housing cooperatives in Poland from 1st January 1958 to 1st April 1959

a/	The total number of hous	ing cooperatives	1 Jan 1958 500	1 Apr 1959 900	
ъ/	The number of towns which housing cooperatives	h have the	152	234	
c/	The number of members in	all cooperatives	41,000	82,000	25X1
	among them in tenants co	operatives	28,000	56,000	
d/	Among the total number of shown above in para a/				
	- tenants cooperatives	}		392	
	- housing-administrati	on cooperatives		23	
	- cooperative associat of one family indiv		uction	128	
e/	Among 82,000 members, abo concentrated in three t				
	orase	in Warsaw		32,500	
		in Poznan		10,000	
	,	in Katowice and di	strict	7,000	

Housing Construction from the means of the Population

Beginning in 1956/1957, the government interoduced a new term "construction from the means of the population". This new name permitted it to avoid such definitions as private construction, socialized construction, etc. The Polish government started the policy of supporting construction from the means of the population in 1957. was said in the USSR that Poland was throwing state funds into the pockets of private individuals and that it was supporting in rural as well as urban areas, the small merchandise, private sector which is not capitalistic in that they exploit no labor, but is even socialistic. According to Lenin this is the economic sector which "gives birth everyday to capitalism". On the other hand Gomulka stated very clearly in his speech during the VIII Plenum in 1957, and later during the Plenum in January 1958, that the government is not above to build all housing in Poland and that the initiative of people who will support the housing construction by their savings and work should be aided by state credits and allocation of building materials, and land. The present situation in this field can be defined as follows:

The government supports the people's initiative in housing construction, acknowledges that the housing problem has the first priority and that the government itself is not able to solve it without the help of people's initiative. However, the government favors such forms which seem to be less private, the least threatening to the socialism (communism) and the closest to the collective forms. Because the

government gives credits according to its policy, it forces the selection of these forms not by compulsion, but by economic influence. For this reason the workers factory housing cooperatives, the large ones, the cooperatives of employees belonging to one enterprise or to one association are supported because they are controlled on several levels. On the contrary such types of housing cooperatives which the people would like to organize themselves, according to their own liking, are not supported although there is no official prohibition of such cooperatives. But there are various formalities such as opinion and approval of the list of members at the time the cooperative wants to register at the Union of Housing Cooperatives. The entirely private individual housing construction is also not supported, although the law provides that an individual can request a bank credit for this purpose. Some credits for private people are given, but of course the candidates for them are selected according to various political and social criteria. Anyway this housing construction from the means of the population and with credits given by the state is not pure private construction because it does not have full freedom, and is governed by the state policy. It is not also fully socialized because at least a part of the means is provided by private people and the initiative for the construction of such housing project also comes from them. It is a semi-socialized sector.

It is true that the forms favored by the state are not liked by the people but there is no choice. For the time being, the fact that this semi-private and semi-socialized construction increases, and that

the government supports it although it is not state constructions -is accepted by the people with satisfaction. The problem of restrictions of freedom will become much more painful and noticeable only
in the next years.

There is also housing construction from the means of the population without state credits, entirely private construction. It is growing also but it is still very small in towns. Only in the villages do some peasants build without looking for state credits.

Table II on the next page shows the share of cooperative and private investments in housing construction in towns and in villages in 1957

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Table II. The share of private and cooperative investments in the total investments of the entire national economy in 1957 and 1958.

***************************************		1 9 in 1956 prices	YEAR 57 in 1958 prices	1 9 5 8 in 1958 prices	The index of increase taking the year 1957 as 100 in 1958 prices.
	1	2	3	4	5
		in millio	n zlotys		
a/	Total investment outlays in the entire national economy	54,099	62,300*	67,500	108.1
ъ/	Investment outlays for private and cooperative housing construction in towns	1,127	1,760*	2,800	159.7
c/	State credits allocated for construction for b/			776	
đ/	Investment outlays for individual agri- cultural farms, in- cluding private housing construction in villages (agricul tural (cooperatives)	4,854 -	5,950*	7,000*	118.0
e/	State credits alloca- ted for individual construction in vill ref to in c/	ages		2 , 016	

estimates or changes in official figures.

	1 :.	in milli	3 on zlotys	4	5
f/	Total individual inves	ral	v		7064
	areas b/ & d/	5,981	7,730*	9.,800*	126 *
g/	Total state credits allocated for individual construction in urban and rural areas c/+e/			2,792	
h/	The percentage share of the individual construction to the total investment outlays:		·		
	(1) in urban areas para b to a	2.1%	3.00%*	4.3%*	142
	(2) in rural areas para d to a	9.0%	9 . 5%* -	10.4% * -	109
i/	Percentage share of total investment of state credits for individual construction in urban and rural areas				
	gg as % of a			4.2%	

Remarks	to	Table	II.

a/ Figures for the year 1957 in 1956 prices were taken from the Statistical Yearbook 1958, page 61.	
_	
b/ Figures for the year 1958 were taken from the Communique on	
implementation of the national economic plan and development of national	
economy in 1958 published by the Main Statistical Administration(GUS).	
	2
c/ Figures for 1957 adjusted to comparable 1958 prices with the	
data for 1958 marked by "*".	:
d/ The individual investments in rural areas do not embrace the	
agricultural cooperatives(kolhozes) which	2
used about one billion zlotys in 1958, in 1958 prices for construction;	
the above mentioned GUS communique gives in the paragraph "construction	
in villages" (budownictwo na wsi) in 1958, eight billion zlotys excluding	<i>:</i>
state agricultural farms but including agricultural cooperatives. Howeve	r,
construction in agricultural coopera-	2
constituetion in agricultural coopera-	
tives should be considered as state owned and not individual.	2

The following main conclusions can be drawn from Table II: The total investment outlays for private and semi-private housing construction in towns amounted in 1958 in 1958 prices to 2.8 billion zlotys, i.e., about 59.6 percent more than in 1956 in comparable prices.

- In 1958, the share of this construction amounted to 4.3 percent of total investment outlays in the entire national economy, in 1957 this share was only 3 percent.
- State credits allocated for this construction amounted to 776,000,000 zlotys in 1958, i.e., 1.17 percent of the total investments.

As can be seen from these figures, the investment outlays for private and semi-private construction represent a small percent in proportion to the total investment outlays in spite of the increase of housing construction from the means of the population; and the state credits for this amount to only 1.17 percent.

The investment outlays from the means of the population and the credits allocated for this purpose in the villages are a little higher.

- Investment outlays in the individual agricultural farms, including housing construction in villages, amounted to about 7,000,000 zlotys in 1958 (excluding agricultural cooperatives-kolhozes). In comparison with 1957, housing construction from the means of the population and with state credits increased by 18 percent.
- The share of construction from the means of the population in 1958 amounted to 10 percent of the total investment outlays in the entire national economy, and in 1957 to 9.5 percent (all in comparable prices which were, in this case, the 1958 prices).
- The state credits allocated for construction from the means of the population in villages amounted in 1958 to 2,016,000,000 zlotys, i.e., 3 percent of the total investment outlays in the entire national economy.

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Total expenditure for construction from the means of the population in urban and rural areas in Poland in 1958 amounted to 14.7 percent of the total investment outlays in the country, and the state credits for that purpose to 4.2 percent. This expenditure amounted according to statistical yearbooks in 1957 to 11.1 percent and according to Source's calculations and correction of prices to 12.5 percent. Anyway there was an increase in the share of the construction from the means of the population in 1958. The above mentioned outlays are seen in the increased number of rooms built from the means of the population. According to the communique of the Main Statistical Administration on the implementation of the economic plan for the year 1958:

Construction from the means of the population with the aid of state credits.

	Individual	Cooperative	Total
Rooms built in 1957	21,500	5,500	27,000
Rooms built in 1958	39,000	7,400	46,400

In proportion to the 235,000 rooms built in 1958 a figure which does not include rooms built without any help from the state, and sometimes without official permission, which can be estimated at about 20 thousand per year) construction from the means of the population using some state credits amounts to 20 percent.



Individual Housing construction without the aid of state credits

In addition to the cooperative and individual construction from the means of the population with the aid of state credits in towns, which is listed in official state statistics, there is also entirely private construction carried out without any aid from the state. This is mostly from building materials of illegal origin and often without the necessary permission from the state authorities. Its extent can be only estimated, at present; it will be known later, not from the statistics published by Main Statistical Administration, but from the statistics of the State Mutual Insurance Bureau to which these "wild" houseowners report because they must insure their houses against fire. a confidential Party report from Krakow voivodship * in this one voivodship about 5000 "wild" rooms were built in 1956. For this reason, in addition to the rooms constructed from the means of the population with the aid of state credits which are shown in official statistics, 50 percent more rooms are built in Poland entirely privately, partly illegally, and partly with the permission of local authorities. A study conducted by the Housing Construction Institute in Warsaw in this case proved that the construction from the means of the population without aid of state credits amounted to about 13,000 rooms in towns and settlements in 1956, while construction with the aid of state credits amounted to

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26,000 rooms. This percentage was confirmed also in the next years.

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According to the article written by S. Dangel and published in the Polish paper, Fundamenty, 19 April 1958, construction from the means of the population (with and without state credits) amounted:

(with the aid of state credits)

in 1956 to 41,000 rooms

20,000 rooms

in 1957 to 49,000 rooms

21,500 rooms

in 1958 to 66,000 rooms

39,000 rooms

Total 156,000 rooms*

Total 80,000 rooms

* The housing cooperatives built 16,200, so individual construction amounted to 139,800 rooms.

So during these three years the individual owners built:

80,500 rooms

With the aid of state credits

59,300 rooms

Without the aid of state credits

139,800 rooms

Total

Thus private housing construction without state credits amounted to about 70 percent of private individual construction with the aid of state credits. This figure proves that there is a very strong impetus for housing construction in Poland and that the population had considerable private financial means, that the illegal dealings and thefts of materials are high since about 20,000 rooms are built yearly without state aid and without the allocation of materials.

It is probable that in the next years about 20,000 rooms will be annually constructed more or less in the same way, but this figure will

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not increase because it is much easier at present to obtain aid from the state, because control of thefts of materials is becoming more severe, and finally because private more or less hidden financial means will be exhausted.

The figures and data given in the above mentioned study of S. Dangel from the Housing Construction Institute are true and based on a thorough study. He gives also a table shown below which clearly reflects the share of various groups of urban (non-agricultural) population in housing construction.

	<u> 1957</u>	1950
Total percentage	100	100
Public construction by the state Cooperative general construction Individual private construction Of this, with the aid of state credits	59.3 1.6 39.1 6.3	57.3 2.3 40.5 11.4

As can be seen the share of construction from the means of the population with the aid of state credits increased rapidly and as a result, the "wild" construction will probably not go higher than the level of about 20,000 rooms yearly.

The individual housing construction in villages should be added to the above mentioned figures which referred only to housing construction in towns and settlements.

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The Polish weekly, Fundamenty published on 10 May 1959 the following

data:	<u>1957</u>	1958
Total individual housing construction in towns and villages	133,200	169,900 rooms
From this - with aid of state credits	21,500	38,700 "
- without state credits	111,700	131,200 "
Of which: non-agricultural population	27,200	19,900 "
agricultural population	84,500	111,300 "

according to the Polish Main Statistical 25X1

Administration (GUS), 368,600 rooms were built in Poland in 1958 in towns

and villages. The government expects a further increase of the housing

construction from the means of the population and intends to favor cooperative

construction more than individual. This is also the consequence of the fact that the cooperatives build smaller apartments than an individual does, and

more apartment houses than small family houses. As a result of this, the construction cost of an apartment is lower. The average usable area of an

apartment built from the means of the population amounted to 102 square meters

in 1956, and in 1959 according to plan, to 65 sq. meters. The tenants cooperatives,

which only build apartment houses have a low average usable area per apartment,

and only 50 sq meters as planned for 1959. The Polish daily Trybuna Ludu,

16 April 1959, published the following data concerning the past achievements

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and future plans about housing cooperatives made

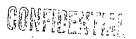
into a table:

Table III. Achievements and plan of the housing cooperatives

	Apartments	Rooms	State allocated credits in million zlotys	Outlays of individuals in million zl.
a/ Given for use in 1956		3,350	64	
b/ Given for use in 1957		5,456	80	
c/ Given for use in 1958	,	7,426	250	
d/ Planned: for 1959	10,060	30,000	1,450	450
for 1965	35,850	111,300	4,000	1,370

The following program of construction from the means of the population was approved by the III Party Congress in Warsaw embracing housing cooperatives and individual houses, (Trybuna Ludu, 22 March 1959, page 5:)

	<u> 1956-1960</u>	<u> 1961-1965</u>	Percent of increase
a/ Investments in socialized economy in billion zlotys in 1958 prices	288.8	408.8	142
 Investments from the means of the population in billion zlotys in 1958 prices 	56.5	105.8	187
c/ State credits in billion zlotys	16.6	38.1	230
d/ The percentage b/ to a/	19.6%*	24.6%*	150 *
e/ The percentage c/ to a/	5.8%*	9.8% *	198*
f/ The total investment outlays in the entire national economy a/ plu b/ in billion zlotys in 1958 price		514.6	160
g/ The percentage b/ to f/	16.4%*	20.5%*	126*
h/ The percentage c/ to f/	4.5% *	7.5%*	160



Housing construction from the means of the population amounted in 1958 to about 14.7%, but it is to increase quickly, and will reach about 18% in 1960 according to present estimates. Anyway the program of the Third Party Congress gives the average for 1956-1960 as 16.4%. It is expected that this semi-socialized sector will increase during the 1961-1965 period to an annual average of 20.5%. The assistance from the state in the form of credits amounted to about 4.5% from 1956-60, and during the plan period 1961-1965 will be 7.5%.

In connection with the propagation of the development of housing construction from the means of the population, the housing saving certificates are being issued in 1959 and their final value in prices of building materials is guaranteed by the state.

Conclusion

The Second Congress of Housing Cooperatives held in Warsaw in April 1959 produced the slogan, "500,000 rooms during seven years 1959-1965". Table III on page 21shows that the housing cooperatives plan to build 30,000 rooms in 1959 and 111,000 rooms in 1965. The average yearly plan for the 1959-1965 period is 71,000 rooms.

the yearly production will be as

follows:

1959 - 30,000 rooms

1960 - 43,000 rooms 1961 - 58,000 rooms

1962 - 73,000 rooms

1963 - 87,000 rooms

1964 - 97,000 rooms 1965 - 111,000 rooms

Total-500,000 rooms

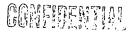
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As far as quantity is concerned, this is a ambitious plan and indicates a big increase of cooperative housing construction in Poland. However, this type of cooperative system is not in conformity with the interests of the people, and as to ownership, a system for apartments which differs very little from apartments built by the state was accepted at the above mentioned congress. It was decided to develop the tenants housing cooperatives instead of owners cooperatives. The construction of apartment houses will be favored over private small houses, and finally, the peoples councils were given more authority to interfere in the selection of members of cooperatives, and to lower the amount of usable area and standards of equipment of the housing.

The Polish weekly <u>Fundamenty</u> No. 18 (125) dated 3 May 1959 published an article written by Aleksander Paszynski under the title "After the congress of housing cooperatives. About this which was left out," which says: "Not to see these problems (i.e., an antagonism between ownership and tenants housing cooperatives) means to drive the cooperatives into a new blind alley.

One cannot consider the construction of a cooperative apartment, i.e., an investment achieved once in lifetime by many sacrifices and with thought about housing possibilities for the family, only from the point of fiew of the current housing situation (which means to restrict the constructed apartments to 60 and even 50 square meters of usable area



One also cannot fix the proportion of apartment houses and one family houses in a schematic way, accepting the superiority of the first. This problem cannot be reduced to bourgeois longings about one's own small house either.

Also the increase of tenants cooperatives must not be achieved by the application of administrative means, nor at the cost of the owners cooperatives....

It is a matter for discussion whether the development of the sole factory housing funds is the primary or the solution..."

Paszynski formulates these reservations carefully, but he points out these "deviations of the cooperative movement" felt in general by the population which gives it a character of state not a private cooperative. The following factors are visible:

- a/ The interference of authorities in the apartment program, i.e., usable area and standard of density.
- b/ The control of membership of housing cooperatives and discriminations.
 - c/ Bias against individual small houses construction
- d/ Onesided development of factory housing cooperatives rather than general housing cooperatives. In factory housing cooperatives the Works Council owns and manages the apartments and not the employees themselves.

Paszynski finishes his article saying "And for this reason a distinctive impression of nonsaturation, deficiencies and even disappointment..."

this course of housing construction cooperatives

is almost the same as the housing construction program carried out by the Administration of Workers Settlements (ZOR), state construction with the exception that a part of funds earned by the workers in the factory fund are given back by the state for housing which it would build for these workers anyway; and another part of the funds comes from other social groups who give their own money and receive for it only very restricted ownership. Despite all this manipulation and this apparent liberalization in name only, more apartments are supplied without weakening the omnipotent power of the state in the sphere of housing.

The above mentioned tendency to hinder the increase of construction of one family houses which are most wanted by the population and, favoring instead the development of tenants cooperatives by the state where the rights of private owner are restricted, is clearly visible from the table below which was published in <u>Fundamenty</u> on 10 May 1959:

Cooperative housing construction from the means of the population with the aid of state credits

	1956	1957	1958
Total number of rooms built by cooperatives	3 , 356	5,456	7,366
Tenants housing cooperatives	-	231	2,214
Housing-construction cooperatives	416	957	906
Cooperative associations for the con- struction of individual one family houses	2,940	4,268	4,246

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As is seen the population did not favor the tenants housing cooperatives, and this category did not build anything in 1956. However, the government gives credits first of all to the tenants housing cooperatives, and as result their number increased and they built 2214 rooms in 1958. On the other hand the cooperative associations for the construction of one family houses built almost the same number of rooms in 1958 as in 1957.

This trend is even more emphasized by the government for the next years, and the plan to construct 500,000 cooperative rooms in the years 1959-1965 foresees mainly the tenants type cooperatives, especially workers factory housing cooperatives.

